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THIS ARTICLE SURVEYS VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE PRESENT STATUS OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION. CONGRESSIONAL AMENDMENTS TO, AND CHANGES IN, TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT AND THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT ARE DISCUSSED. SOME STATEMENTS BY CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS AND BY THE PRESIDENT OF A NATIONAL PARENT-TEACHER ASSOCIATION ARE INCLUDED. THERE ARE BRIEF NOTES ON DISCRIMINATORY POLICIES IN THE BUILDING TRADES UNIONS AND ON THE CALIFORNIA LAW PERMITTING THE USE OF A LANGUAGE OTHER THAN ENGLISH FOR TEACHING PURPOSES. MOST OF THE ARTICLE CONSISTS OF AN OVERVIEW OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN 19 STATES AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. THIS ARTICLE WAS PUBLISHED IN "INTEGRATED EDUCATION," VOLUME 5, NUMBER 4, ISSUE 28, AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1967. (NH)

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CHRONICLE OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION

May-June, 1967

The Editor

Compliance activities for Title VI of the Civil Rights Act—forbidding racially discriminatory use of federal funds—were shifted out of the U.S. Office of Education and placed directly under HEW Secretary John W. Gardner. F. Peter Libassi, Special Assistant for Civil Rights to the Secretary, will be in direct charge. There will be, Libassi said, "no relaxation, no modification, and no reinterpretation of enforcing the Civil Rights law."

Libassi explained to an interviewer his own conception of HEW's responsibility:

"I don't expect to develop unanimous public support, but at least some understanding of what we are doing and why. We are not race mixers. We are not out to remake the social patterns of the South, not out to force busing, but are trying to protect the constitutional rights of children.

God, you only go through grade school once, and your life is crippled or enhanced by that experience. If you could see some of the schools Negro children are

attending, you realize they are permanently stunted and only by the most unusual efforts will they ever make up the deficiency."

Apparently, the Office of Education will retain jurisdiction over Title IV of the Civil Rights Act; this provides for federal grants to assist school boards in making a transition to desegregated schools.

The House Appropriations Committee, reflecting administration accomodation to southern pressures, issued a report critical of the school desegregation activities of HEW: "Testimony before the committee indicated clearly that the department has gone beyond the law in these enforcement activities and in requirements under the so-called guidelines." Three days later, the committee cut by two-thirds an administration request for increased funds to help schools meet desegregation problems (Title IV).

Late in May, the House debated a bill to extend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Two issues dominated the proceedings: (1) a proposal by Representative Albert H. Quie to change the method of providing federal school aid from categorical to block grants—specific uses of funds would be left up to the states; and (2) Representative Edith Green's amendments relating to various civil rights matters. The Quie approach was rejected for Title I—calling for the largest appropriation, for educationally deprived children—but was adopted for Titles III and V—the former covering educational innovations, the latter, funds for strengthening state departments of education.

Representative Green sponsored, among others, amendments that would: (1) require the HEW school desegregation guidelines to be administered uniformly in all fifty states; (2) require federal officials to conduct hearings before cutting off federal aid funds in cases of suspected violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act.

[On March 7, 1966, upon issuing revised guidelines, Office of Education Commissioner Harold Howe II observed that "they do not deal with the sometimes even more difficult racial problems in our large cities or other districts which have maintained formally established separate schools for white and Negro students." (See *Integrated Education,* April - May, 1966, p. 50.) At the White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," June 1-2, 1966, the official council called for application of Title VI to "many current practices in northern schools." Delegates to the conference, however, took a stronger stand and called for legislative outlawing of de facto segregation. While these recommendations were forwarded to President Johnson, no public response has yet been released. In March, 1967, the U.S. Court of Appeals, Fifth District, in *U.S. v. Jefferson County Board of Education* upheld the constitutionality of the HEW guidelines as they were being applied in southern states. Judge Gewin dissented, arguing that the majority approached "the problem on a sectional basis"; he declared that "the de facto-de jure distinction . . . cannot be supported as a matter of law." Two months later four Deep South governors called upon federal authorities to apply desegregation decisions "to all states of this nation . . . and not solely to the states of the South." Thus, opposition to the geographical limitations of the 1966 guidelines had come from integration enthusiasts as well as from critics of integration.]

Representative Green gained support for her amendments from congressional representatives of both these viewpoints. She declared: "I think it is unfair to ask of any area of the country something you are not prepared to ask for all . . . . Why should there be one set of standards in Louisville, Kentucky, and another in Jeffersonville, Indiana? . . . When discrimination occurs in Portland, Oregon, I want that ended just as much as in Richmond, Virginia." She cited Chicago as an instance of fed-

eral reluctance to clamp down on northern segregation. Administration spokesmen were skeptical, initially, about the Green amendments. HEW Secretary Gardner wrote a letter to House Speaker John W. McCormack predicting that the amendments "would encourage some districts to ignore the Constitution of the United States and the Congressional mandate of the Civil Rights Act of 1964." Floor debate, however, encouraged Peter Libassi, Gardner's aide, to conclude that passage of the uniformity amendment would not weaken southern desegregation efforts. The amendment was adopted. The following day, an HEW spokesman stated the amendment "will strengthen HEW's hand in seeking better integration of northern schools."

Representative Green's second amendment (see above, p. 4) was also adopted but in a more restrictive form as sponsored by Representative L. H. Fountain. The Fountain Amendment forbids any deferral of federal funds to a school district until a hearing has been held and a finding has been entered on the record. A school district found to be in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act would not apparently, have to return any federal funds received in the past. Final enactment of the amendment would supersede a provision presently in the education law that permits the Commissioner of Education to defer payment of federal funds to school districts for as long as ninety days during which time any investigation must be completed. [See *Integrated Education*, December, 1966-January, 1967, p. 5.]

"Maybe," said Mrs. Jenelle Moorhead, president of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, "in a lot of neighborhoods and schools we ought simply to throw away the conventional P.T.A. pattern and have an unconvention P.T.A." Mrs. Moorhead called on delegates to the group's 71st annual convention to help the poor become more interested in their children's schools.

H. Rap Brown, new chairman of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), stated his organization was increasingly involved on the campuses of Negro colleges: "A lot of the things that happened on the campuses this past term can be attributed to the SNCC campus program." These programs, Brown explained, "are geared to enlightening and educating black people about what is going on in the black community, what is going on in America, where they fit in America, and why they are being victimized and oppressed."

"In the past we have gone to great pains not to say Negro," declared Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League in an address to a national meeting of social workers. "We've used phrases like 'culturally deprived' and 'educationally disadvantaged' and what not, but finally we've gotten around to identifying that core group."

The building trade unions continued to feel the edge of civil rights criticism of exclusionary policies in apprenticeship training. Both Senators Robert F. Kennedy and Charles H. Percy are supporting pre-apprenticeship orientation plans which would prepare young persons to meet the more rigorous criteria of regular apprenticeship training. Union leaders expressed fear of competition from such pre-apprentices; one insisted "the only way to train professionals is through the apprenticeship system."

The California legislature enacted a law permitting school instruction in a language other than English. (For background, see *Integrated Education*, June-July, 1967, p. 8.] A similar measure failed of passage in Texas. Senator Ralph Yarborough of Texas, however, is sponsor of a bill pending in Congress to finance bi-lingual instruction in English and Spanish.

ALABAMA

A federal court struck down an Alabama law against the HEW desegregation guidelines as a violation of

the constitutional supremacy of congressional legislation. At the same time, the judges tended to interpret narrowly a state's obligation under the Civil Rights Act: "Of course, some compulsory association of the races is necessary for the purpose of desegregating the schools, but that is limited to such as is appropriate for eliminating a dual structure of separate schools for students of different races . . . . "

Governor Lurleen Wallace has recommended that the state legislature discontinue an annual contribution to Tuskegee Institute. The present appropriation is $670,000. Other private schools, attended by white students, would continue to receive state contributions under the governor's plan.

CALIFORNIA

The U.S. Supreme Court confirmed the decision of California's high court in rejecting a state law designed to confer upon an owner of private housing an absolute right to sell or rent or decline to sell or rent. The federal court said that such a law would set up "the right to discriminate . . . [as] one of the basic policies of the state." Until passage of the law, it had been illegal in California to discriminate racially in the field of housing.

The San Diego school board adopted a policy position against de facto segregation.

At Menlo-Atherton High School, in Menlo Park, plans for the fall semester include the placing of five remedial students in each of three regular classes. The Sequoia District Advisory Committee on Compensatory Education described this as "integrated grouping," explaining that "some educational research indicates the possibility that students are more likely to perform successfully when they are associated in classes with students of high achievement." No mention was made of racial factors. [For background, see *Integrated Education*, June-July, 1967, p. 8.]

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

On May 1st, according to school officials, 2,000 students joined a boycott in protest against segregation in District public schools; another 1,200 were said to have remained home for "safety reasons." A freedom school was attended by 200 boycotters and sympathizers from nearby Montgomery County. One student testified: "In Greensboro, North Carolina, where I came from, I would be taking a third year of language and chemistry; but in my school here, I am only taking biology and the first year of a language."

Three new members of the District school board were appointed, two Negro and one white. A majority of the nine member board is now Negro.

On June 19th, Judge J. Skelly Wright of the Federal District Court decided *Hobson* v. *Hansen*. (See below, p. 46.) The court ruled unconstitutional many features that are widespread in urban school systems: the track system, racially imbalanced faculties, unequal dollar expenditures on Negro and white students, discriminatory optional attendance zones, and others. Judge Wright did not exonerate the board in the matter of de facto segregation, nor did he rule the pattern outright unconstitutional.

Over the July 1st weekend, the school board voted, 7-2, not to appeal; it also directed Superintendent Carl F. Hansen not to appeal in his own name. He refused to pledge such abstinence and resigned.

FLORIDA

The Miami antipoverty central organization, Economic Opportunity Programs, Inc., approved unanimously a motion that its basic policy is "to break down racial segregation in this community." Jack Gordon, member of the Dade County school board as well as the antipoverty board of directors, offered the motion. "This organization," Gordon stated, "is meaningless if it's not providing leadership on integration."

The state's compulsory attendance law was ruled unconstitutional in Duval County Circuit Court (Jacksonville). A lawsuit against the local NAACP had been brought by the county school board, claiming damages of $259,794 for loss of state aid occasioned by NAACP-led school boycotts. Judge Roger J. Waybright dismissed the suit, ruling that the attendance law discriminated unlawfully by its stipulation that "no child shall be compelled to attend any school in which the races are comingled." Judge Waybright held: "This denies equal protection of the law to any child of school age . . . . The net effect is that school attendance cannot be constitutionally compelled in Florida unless this proviso is removed from the law."

Public school officials meeting at the University of Miami reported feeling pressure when they recommended affirmative action on desegregation. J. Hartly Blackburn, Manatee County (Bradenton) superintendent, said: "School officials all over the state have been threatened because they are doing what the law tells them to do." Dr. Michael J. Stolee, director of the University's Desegregation Consulting Center, reported: "Many school officials have been voted out of office, harassed or attacked physically for doing the job they must do. P arents are generally uninformed that what the school officials are doing they are compelled to do by law." R. T. Milwee, superintendent of Seminole County (Sanford), resigned after he was beaten by William Leffler, a white civil engineer who had tried in vain to obtain a transfer for his child from a class taught by a Negro teacher.

Twenty-eight white students at Homestead Junior High School in Dade County boycotted classes, objecting to what they regarded as favoritism to Negro students in cases of Negro-white conflicts. The principal admitted a possible basis for the complaint. A group of the protestors charged that the Negro students want to be "faceless when it comes to discipline." Parents of the protestors called a meeting of Negro and white parents to settle the matter.

ILLINOIS

The Illinois Supreme Court held unconstitutional the Armstrong Law and thus reversed the earlier *Tometz* ruling. [See *Integrated Education*, August-September, 1966. p. 70.] The statute, enacted in 1963, required school boards to redistrict attendance boundaries periodically to reduce segregation and prevent further segregation. The state high court found the law to be "arbitrary and unreasonable" and in violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. In the absence of a legislative definition of racial balance, the lower court had improperly provided its own definition. Also criticized by the high court was the fact that the Armstrong law cited only racial considerations and omitted to consider the educational impact of enforcement on the neighborhood school system.

Evanston's four junior high schools are to be integrated by September, thus adding to the already-approved integration plan for sixteen elementary schools. [See *Integrated Education*, February-March, 1967, p. 7.] The range of Negro students in the four schools will be from 15 to 23 percent. Superintendent Gregory C. Coffin is strongly supporting the new plan.

Professor John Hope Franklin, member of the editorial board of *Integrated Education*, is to become chairman of the history department at the University of Chicago, effective October 1st.

The Chicago school board released the results of its second annual racial head count of teachers. Virtually one-third of all teachers are Negro; the percentages are 36.6 in elementary schools and 24.8 in high schools. The number of schools with all-white faculties fell from 255 to 247.

KENTUCKY

School pairing is being practiced in six school districts. In a study of the experience, the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights observed that "in some Kentucky cities, only pairing plans will enable white children to have the experience of attending a school with Negro students . . . . School pairing plans offer significant educational advantages for white as well as Negro children." [The study is reported in John Fleming, *Kentucky School Pairing Plans*, Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, 172 Capitol Annex, Frankfort, Ky. 40601.]

Negro students at a University of Kentucky "bitch-in" stressed that Negroes should be allowed to participate in varsity sports and that they would like to be free to join campus sororities and fraternities of their choice.

A citizen's committee has proposed the consolidation of the Louisville and Jefferson County school system in the form of five racially and socially heterogeneous districts. The plan is to be submitted to both school boards for approval. Legislation may be prepared for next year's state legislative session to establish metropolitan educational districts.

Mrs. Dorothy D. Vick, a Negro and a former teacher in the Fulton City schools, was ordered reinstated with back pay by the U.S. District Court in Paducah. Federal Judge Henry Brooks ruled that Mrs. Vick had been fired for racial reasons when an all-Negro school had been closed. "Segregation," observed the judge, "was a way of life in the community of Fulton, as well as other parts of Kentucky. It is evident the school board was concerned with the reaction of [white] parents to Negro teachers working in what had been all-white schools."

At one point in the court proceedings, Fulton school superintendent W. L. Holland used the term "Nigra" to describe a Negro. Mrs. Vick's attorney, Avon Williams, objected to the court: "I wish your honor would inform Mr. Holland that the word 'Nigra' is an abusive and insulting term. I am surprised to hear it allowed in a court of law." Judge Brooks upheld the contention and forbade further use of the objectionable term.

LOUISIANA

The Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance of Shreveport-Bossier City and vicinity appealed to Negro parents to enroll their children in hitherto white schools. Schools in Caddo and Bossier Parishes had been ordered to integrate by June 1st in an order by federal judge Ben Dawkins, Jr. The ministers' appeal declared: "In . . . 1954 . . . the U.S. Supreme Court held that 'separate but equal' faciliies in our public schools is unconstitutional and detrimental to children who must learn under such conditions. If our children are to meet the challenges of the educational, technological, and social changes of our day, they must take advantage of all of the educational opportunities that are offered to them. Failure to seize these opportunities will make the ruling of the Supreme Court ineffective and at the same time inflict a serious handicap upon your child." Signers of the appeal included sixteen Methodist and Baptists ministers.

Two weeks later, Caddo Parish Superintendent C. L. Perry announced that 514—a record number—of Negro students had applied for transfer to thirty-seven formerly all-white schools. A large majority represented applications for rural schools. (During the school year 1966-1967, a total of seven Negroes attended four white schools in the parish.) In Bossier Parish, 149 Negro children applied to enter white schools in September. In the school year just ended, 4,303 Negro children were enrolled in Bossier Parish schools, only 1.1 percent of them in desegregated schools. The new applications increased the percentage to 3.7.

MASSACHUSETTS

The state's highest court upheld the state law against racially imbalanced schools. It rejected the arguments of the Boston school board and criticized the board as seeming "bent on stifling the act before it has a fair chance to become fully operative."

Nearly $6 million in state aid is being withheld from the Springfield public school system until it submits satisfactory plans to remedy the racial imbalance in six of its schools. Dr. Owen B. Kiernan, State Education Commissioner, said negotiations were proceeding [For background, see *Integrated Education*, April-May, 1965, p. 44 and August-November. 1965, p. 59.]

MICHIGAN

The Ann Arbor High School's Cooperative Occupational Training Program was charged by the city's Human Relations Commission with racial discrimination in assignment of student workers. Two commission members, posing as prospective employers, requested non-Negro employees. According to the commission members, the Program agreed; this is denied by school officials. The substantive matter of discrimination has been submerged by the issue of entrapment by investigators. Public debate over the issue became part of a school board election campaign.

Strong sentiments for and against integration were expressed by various speakers at the Detroit Federation of Teachers' Regional Conference on Racism in Education, May 11-13. Union president Mary Ellen Riordan argued: "Color is beside the point if the person is doing the job." Herbert Ottley, head of New York's Bedford-Stuyvesant anti-poverty program, countered: "Nowhere in this world is anybody going to take care of your kids better than you. The emphasis now is simply on an education, not on moving students to other schools to get results." Dr. Alvin Poussaint of Tuts Medical College, held: "Being black is exclusive. There is no reason why we should have to join the white community to achieve our goals in education." The *Chronicle*, a Detroit Negro newspaper, commented: Color is not 'beside the point.' For at least the forseeable future, it *is* the point." [See article by Rev. Albert Cleage, Jr., below, p.]

MISSISSIPPI

A federal district court jury in Oxford freed all defendants in the Grenada school case. Eight white men, it had been charged, did in September, 1966, "assault, hit, kick, beat, pursue, threaten and otherwise willfully obstruct, impede, and interfere with Negro students" as they sought to desegregate two Grenada schools. [For background, see *Integrated Education*, December, 1966-January, 1967, pp. 7-8, and February-March, 1967, pp. 4-5.] One plaintiff, an 11-year old Negro girl crippled by polio, testified that a defendant struck her on her "good leg below the knee with a pipe." An eight grade boy described how assailants had broken one of his legs: "They come up on me and this lady poked me two times with an umbrella. Then some men grabbed me on the arms and legs and twisted my legs. Then they beat me and dropped me. I couldn't move my leg but I got up on one leg and started hopping . . . and this man with a pipe poked me in the side." Grenada police captain C. S. Turner testifed that he saw a defendant kick a high school student who had fallen: "Mr. Bain was kicking him in the face. He was bleeding about the mouth and face." After the not-guilty verdict, one of the defendants danced a jig in front of the courthouse.

The violence attending desegregation of the two Grenada schools severely reduced the willingness of Negro parents to continue their efforts. In September, 1966, 352 Negro children in Grenada enrolled in all-white schools. By June, 1967, their number had fallen to 131; the drop is explained primarily by harassment by white stu-

dents and economic intimidation of Negro parents. Nevertheless, 111 Negro students have again signed to return to the desegregated schools in September, 1967.

The Natchez Board of Aldermen elected George West, Jr., a Negro, to the city school board, thus tardily fulfilling a pledge made on December 3, 1965 by Mayor John Nosser to NAACP leader Charles Evers. "Since more than half the pupils attending the local public schools are Negroes," observed Evers, "it seems only right that this majority be represented by at least one qualified Negro on the board." [For background, see *Integrated Education*, February-March, 1966, p. 6.]

Many Negro children in Mississippi are suffering from virtual starvation and untreated diseases, according to six physicians who had just interviewed between 60 0and 700 children on the spot. Sponsored by the Field Foundation of New York, the team of physicians testified on their findings before a congressional subcommittee: "We do not want to quibble over words, but 'malnutrition' is not quite what we found; the boys and girls we saw were hungry — weak, in pain, sick; their lives are being shortened. They are suffering from hunger and disease and directly or indirectly they are dying from them— which is exactly what 'starvation' means." Dr. Joseph Brenner of M.I.T. said he had found health conditions among Africans in Kenya and Aden to be no worse and in some cases better than among the poor in the South. "It is fantastic," Dr. Brenner said, "that this should be so in the wealthiest nation in the world . . . ."

Charles Evers, state NAACP leader, attacked the practice of all-white Selective Service Boards and warned that if these were not desegregated by June 1, 1967, "we have no choice other than to ask our young men who are of military age to refuse . . . to go into the armed services of this country — not refusing to fight for our country, but refusing to be sent by a segregated draft board until Negroes are placed on the draft boards." Governor Paul Johnson refused to discuss the matter with Mr. Evers as he considered the latter an irresponsible, unrepresentative leader.

MISSOURI

Five suburban St. Louis boards have rejected an invitation by the St. Louis school system to accept some of the city's Negro students in a busing arrangement. James E. Hurt, Jr., member of the St. Louis board of education, recalled that twenty-five years ago the city educated Negro students who lived in suburbs but who were not permitted to attend schools in their vicinity.

The Columbia school board will close out predominantly Negro Douglass Elementary School as a regular school. In September, all Douglass children will be enrolled in four other schools. "Last year," stated Superintendent Robert C. Shaw, "about 20 percent of the Douglass parents requested transfers for their children. This year, 95 percent have made the request in writing. This figure is not based on someone signing a petition or on someone's opinion who thinks he knows what Douglass parents want."

NEW JERSEY

Negro community leaders in Newark opposed the building of a new New Jersey College of Medicine and Dentistry in the predominantly Negro Central Ward. Residents were fearful that they would be left homeless if the area were cleared under urban renewal arrangements.

Negro leaders as well as prominent white civic and business leaders strongly criticized the intention of Mayor Hugh J. Addonizio to bypass a highly qualified Negro in favor of a much less qualified person as secretary of the city's school board. The Negro candidate is a certified public accountant, holds a master's degree, and is city budget director.

The white candidate is an alderman, a high school graduate, and is said to lack special training in financial matters. To resolve the problem for a time, however, the incumbent at the last moment withdrew his statement of resignation.

These two school issues stirred deep currents of discontent among Negroes in Newark. In the midst of these events, in June, James Threatt, executive director of the city's Civil Rights Commission, sent Mayor Addonizio a confidential memo warning that "the city is ripe for a riot." On July 12th, violent rioting broke out in Newark's Negro ghetto. In retrospect, Dr. Nathan Wright, community relations advisor to the Newark Episcopal diocese, referred to the two issues when he said: "When the mayor flayed the Negro community so terribly, the people were like a caged lion, wounded deeply." Oliver Lofton, head of the Office of Economic Oppportunity-financed Newark Legal Services Project, listed housing, schools, jobs, and police relations as the principal areas of Negro discontent in the city: "The schools are horribly overcrowded. The Negro children go to school in split sessions and receive half the education of their white counterparts. We want more schools in the Negro neighborhoods." Negroes make up 55 percent of the city's population.

A task force on migrant labor, appointed by Governor Richard J. Hughes, proposed the state offer migrant parents a $20 weekly allowance for each child between the ages of 16 and 20 that is sent to special summer school. "We believe," stated the task force, "that this proposal will serve as a direct attack upon migrancy itself, and as such, it should enable the children to escape from the cycle of poverty in which they are caught."

NEW MEXICO

The attempt by a handful of Mexican Americans in New Mexico to seize land deriving from Spanish land grant claims represented widespread bitterness and justified grievances, according to Governor David F. Cargo. Testifying before a congressional hearing, Governor Cargo stated that average annual income in the three northernmost counties—predominantly Mexican-American—was $700. Mexican-Americans had received virtually no help from government and were "losing faith in the democratic process." When he met with Sargent Shriver, head of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Gov. Cargo stated that Head Start programs in these stricken areas were "no good" inasmuch as graduates of the programs had no kindergartens to enter.

NEW YORK

State support for parochial schools will lead "the present flight of middle-class families from the public school system . . . [to] become a stampede" predicted Rev. Donald B. Harrington, state chairman of the Liberal Party and delegate to the state constiutional convention. He was countered by Republican Daniel J. Reidy, who opposed "compress[ing] all our students into a monolithic state public school system."

A crime syndicate in Mount Vernon has made it impossible for the community to solve its school integration, narcotics control, and other community problems, according to Professor Bert E. Swanson, Sarah Lawrence College sociologist. The syndicate had first supported actively an integration proposal for a Children's Academy. [See Bert E. Swanson, "The Political Feasibility of Planning for School Integration," *Integrated Education*, February-March, 1967, p. 30.] When Negroes opposed the Academy plan, the syndicate withdrew support, in fear that federal attention would be attracted to Mount Vernon by the resulting conflict. A similar fear, according to Professor Swanson, underlay the city's rejection of a proposal to seek federal funds for a narcotics control program.

In New York City the More Effective

Schools Program (MESP) became a prime issue in local school controversy. (MESP embraces 21 schools attended mainly by Negro and Puerto Rican children; class size is 22 children per class instead of the ordinary 31; additional teachers and auxiliary personnel are assigned. The program was sponsored originally by the United Federation of Teachers.) Costs per pupil in the 21 schools average $1,263 a year as against $559 in regular elementary schools and $750 in special service schools. On June 18th, school board president Alfred A. Giardino said that MESP "costs more than twice as much to educate a child" but that "you're not getting twice as much value." Over half the participating principals had reported an excess of personnel. Superintendent Bernard E. Donovan then ordered a reduction of two auxiliary specialists in each MESP school. Teacher union president Albert Shanker called it "idiotic to save $500 a year, when the child is young, and then to end up spending five, six or seven thousand dollars a year to support in terms of welfare, crime detection and so forth, throughout the rest of a person's life."

In January, the Citywide More Effective Schools Parents Association had been formed. On June 22nd, the group led a parade of some 500 demonstrators; participating were children and their parents, teachers and supervisors, and at least eight principals. The group's leaders met with Deputy Mayor Timothy W. Costello and urged: (1) a commitment to continue MESP for at least three more years in its present form; (2) a separate assistant superintendent; (3) a citywide MESP school district with a board made up of parents, teachers and supervisors; and (4- an investigation of possible misuse of federal funds for the disadvantaged. MESP, Mr. Costello acknowledged, had been "an effective way of raising educational accomplishment." Council President Frank D. O'Connor told the demonstrators he had written the school board that MESP was "the only hope for young children in underprivileged areas."

On June 29th, the Parents Association of P.S. 154, a MESP school, boycotted in protest at an order to withdraw a speech teacher and an attendance officer. The teachers union supported a speech teacher and an attendance officer. The teachers union supported the boycott; 900 of the 925 students were absent from the school. Borough President Percy E. Sutton of Manhattan pledged to parents he was "working for continuation and increases" of MESP. David S. Seeley, chief educational adviser to Mayor John Lindsay, said his Office of Educational Liaison was "exploring what can be done to preserve and encourage programs that give evidence of finding ways to improve the education of the children of this city." Dr. Aaron Brown, member of the school board, urged expansion of MESP.

Collective bargaining maneuvers by union and board of education produced occasional insights into hitherto obscure conditions. The problem of distribution of experienced teachers is an example. According to union president Shanker on June 18th, an unpublished school board study showed that "the most experienced teachers, on the average, are in the most difficult schools, and yet those children in those schools are not achieving." School officials did not comment on the assertion. On June 30th, Superintendent Donovan wrote to Mr. Shanker:

> During the course of previous negotiations, provisions were made for a lighter teaching load in special service junior high schools (22 periods a week) on the ground that this lighter teaching load would attract more experienced teachers to these schools. This has not happened. Instead serious problems of teacher shortage and class coverage have developed. Therefore, there is no justification for giving three more preparation periods.

In ghetto areas in Brooklyn and Queens, especially, Negro and Puer-

to Rican parents continued to demand a voice in school affairs. Stress on race receded; few parental voices were heard calling for Negro principals to replace white principals. Some traces of anti-Semitism were evident but these were quite uncharacteristic of the protest movement. The United Federation of Teachers, itself at times the target of attack, increasingly supported the parent movement.

At P.S. 284 in Brownsville, Brooklyn, a continuing parent protest called for the removal of the principal and nine teachers accused of verbally abusing students and lacking respect for them. Also demanded were more experienced teachers, more reading and science specialists, and elimination of racist textbooks. On May 18th, about 85 percent of the school's students were kept home as part of a protest. The following day, the principal asked for a transfer. He contended that despite the discontent, achievement levels of students were rising. Late in June, thirty of the school's fifty teachers asked to be transferred. Some were especially resentful at anti-Semitic notes left in their mail boxes. By semester's end, ten applied for transfers but only four transfers were granted.

At J.H.S. 258 in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn, a white principal applied for a transfer after a parent campaign for his resignation. Pending discussions with the teachers union parents withheld temporarily a demand for removal of fourteen objectionable teachers. Mrs. Eulalee Lediard, parent leader, commented: "We would have raised as much cain if a Negro had been principal and failed to do a good job. We want a good staff and a good school — we want the best school in the city." At the end of June, the principal was reassigned.

The Jamaica, Queens branch of the NAACP issued a report complimenting the principal and faculty of P.S. 40 for "a worthwhile educational journey for our children." The More Effective Schools Program at P.S. 40, stated the report, "appears to be excellent both in concept and practice, and is helping to solve the educational needs of the pupils." Last year's achievement tests showed the first three grades and the fifth grade reading at or above grade level. NAACP called for more Negro supervisory personnel at the school. It also criticized very severely the local CORE organization for what it called "the viciousness with which the principal and certain members of his staff have been attacked . . . " by CORE.

Teachers at two Brooklyn schools, P.S. 184 and P.S. 270, defended their principals against an attack by Brooklyn CORE. The civil rights group had charged that the two principals were objectionable "for their abject failure to teach our black and Puerto Rican children and for their unprofessional attitudes toward black teachers who are trying to do a job."

Parents at P.S. 161 in Manhattan boycotted the school in an effort to force the school board to relieve overcrowding by transferring some students to the new P.S. 125-36 next fall. Nearly all the school's teachers joined the picketing before school hours and during the lunch period. The boycott was 95 percent effective. A student boycott occurred also at P.S. 6, Long Island City, Queens. It was aimed at forcing a reconsideration by the board of a previous decision to close the school because of a fire hazard. Teachers supported the boycott.

Brooklyn CORE charged "mistreatment and abuse of the too few black teachers in the Brooklyn public schools." Negro teachers in Brooklyn, the organization continued, "have been openly threatened by white principals with unsatisfactory ratings, transferrals and exclusion from faculty conferences"; it referred to "the opening of black teachers' mail and the searching of their desks . . . ".

Some two weeks later, 20 CORE

members sat-in at the headquarters of the United Federation of Teachers in furtherance of their protest. Robert Carson, executive director of Brooklyn CORE said his group preferred to deal with the union rather than the school board which he called uncooperative. Demands included: (1) Stop "the continued harassment and abuse of black children and black teachers by the board of education and by members of the U.F.T."; (2) withhold salary increases from teachers whose students do not learn; (3) remove principals whose schools fall below national academic standards; (4) appoint more Negro administrators and teachers; (5) create a separate school board for predominantly Negro Bedford-Stuyvesant, Harlem, East Bronx, and Jamaica communities; (6) conduct open hearings on "miseducation and teacher accountablity to the community"; and (7) supply sufficient copies of textbooks on Negro history in ghetto schools. Heads of the elementary and junior high school principals associations criticized Brooklyn CORE as "black power exponents who do not represent the general sentiment of the Negro people" and as "troublemakers who really don't want white principals in the schools.

On May 16th, Superintendent Donovan announced a new plan to conform with a state order to avoid racial imbalance in Andrew Jackson High School in Queens. [For background, see *Integrated Education*, June-July, 1967, p. 12.] Two hundred sixty white students were to be rezoned into Jackson, thus meeting the demand of teachers at that school, as well as parents who want to keep the percentage Negro below the fifty percent level. Three separate lawsuits were filed by parents who did not wish their children to attend Jackson. School records for the children to be transferred were tied up in court, thus preventing prompt transfer procedures. On June 11th, Superintendent Donovan said he was thinking of dropping the attempt to transfer 200 students and await further action by the state education department in arranging metropolitan school districts: "We're probably not more than a year or two away from it, if we're that far."

In Jamaica, transfers for integration were resisted by white parents of children in P.S. 54 and P.S. 170. They were to be transferred into J.H.S. 8 which is 75 percent Negro and Puerto Rican instead of attending their traditional school J.H.S. 217, which is 35 percent Negro and Puerto Rican. Within three weeks in May, three boycotts against the transfers occurred at P.S. 54 and P.S. 170. White parents also boycotted at P.S. 54 in a separate action late in June.

Open enrollment in the city's high schools has been suspended because of overcrowding. In Manhattan and the Bronx, open enrollment in junior high schools is suspended. In the same boroughs, the plan in elementary schools is to be sharply limited. Some 25,000 students are presently enrolled in the plan in all levels.

Teacher union president Shanker stressed the need to gain educational improvements through collective bargaining: "Many of our schools are becoming unsafe because parents and community groups are hostile. They are hostile because their kids are not learning. The kids are not learning because we do not have the facilities to teach. It will not mean anything to go back with a good salary increase — but then be driven out of the schools."

NORTH CAROLINA

The Haliwa Indians in Warren County, who from 1957 to 1965 had their own state-financed school, are objecting to an HEW move to close the school. (Prior to 1957, Haliwa children attended Negro schools.) Last year, recalled the parents, their children were mistreated by white students in Warren and Fairfax high schools. While the Haliwas want a new school, they say they do not oppose integration and would welcome children of all races in their school.

The state government paid a bill of $26,281 to the Washington, D.C., law firm of Sutherland, Asbill and Brennan for representing local school districts in the state that were fighting the desegregation guidelines. Governor Dan Moore praised the firm's work: "Thus far the firm has assisted 15 local school units in proceedings brought against them by HEW for alleged violations of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 . . . . The Washington law firm . . . has assisted eight . . . local school units in obtaining . . . some $3.2 million of the federal funds previously withheld."

OHIO

Parent protests took organized form in Toledo as a one-day boycott occurred in May at the all-Negro Pickett School; the move was sponsored by the Southwest Area Council (SAC) Parents demanded an end to overcrowding, initiation of an open enrollment plan; an end to de facto segregation; and numerous improvements in the school building. Mrs. Henry C. Eiland, wife of the pastor of Grace Presbyterian Church and spokesman for SAC, declared: "The Negro boys and girls at Scott, Libbey, and Woodward and all over the city are being sold as modern slaves to a second-rate system of education which condemns them to frustration, despair, and failure." The school board rejected the call for open enrollment and taunted the parents: "The board would appreciate help from SAC in improving attendance, reducing tardiness, providing better meals for students, help with disciplinary problems, and also in recruiting well-qualified teachers. The child coming from a home where education is respected and appreciated, will be more easily motivated than the child from a disadvantaged home." Several days later, a nearly all-Negro group of 100 persons marched downtown in protest at de facto segregation and inferior education for Negro children.

OKLAHOMA

The U.S. Supreme Court refused to review a Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals decision in the Oklahoma City Dowell case, thus leaving intact a District Court order of September 5, 1965. The 1965 order issued by Judge Luther Bohanon called for sweeping changes in school organization: the attendance areas of various schools were to be merged so as to promote desegregation; a child in a racial majority would be permitted to transfer to a school in which he was in a racial minority; faculties were to be desegregated by 1970 so that the racial composition in each school approximated the system-wide composition (plus or minus a ten percent tolerance). Unless the Supreme Court agrees to a rehearing, the Bohanon order must be put in effect this coming Sepember.

TENNESSEE

The Memphis school board is requiring 92 Negro students in Melrose High School to re-take a test in Spanish on which they already scored in the 99th percentile, highest in the country. The city's director of pupil testing said that "it would not have been unusual for some students to score that high, but not 92." Students refusing to retake the test will receive an "F" in Spanish. "We know of no legal grounds to force these children to retake these tests," stated Mrs. Maxine Smith, secretary of the Memphis NAACP.

VIRGINIA

The Charlottesville school board has dropped its freedom-of-choice plan of student assignment in favor of a geographical attendance area system. In the Keswick area, the Stone-Robeson School will be three-quarters Negro in composition; many whites in the area enroll their children in private schools.

At a meeting of the Staunton-Augusta County branch of the NAACP, the group's education chairman, Mrs. Henry A. Davenport, praised those children and parents who had pio-

neered in desegregation. She introduced a number of the children to the audience and urged members to be more energetic in arranging for their children to share the best in school facilities.

The Prince Edward County school board finally raised $181,005 to return to the county treasury by order of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourh Circuit. The money had originally been appropriated as tuition grants to finance attendance of white students in segregated private schools. Some $111,000 was recovered from parents; a number of parents, however, refused to refund the money they had received. About $14,000 was raised by public subscription. A major portion of the remaining $56,005 was raised by loans from banks on security pledged by board members in their private capacities.

WISCONSIN

"Segregated education," declared retiring Milwaukee school board member Cornelius Golightly, "produces white as well as black misfits. There can be no compromise on the question of integration. Milwaukee must come to grips with solving problems or will have to face the same undesirable alternative that people in the South have used for years. They teach children that the system is against them. And they build hate and determination to learn in spite of the system. This is repulsive to northern Negro parents and should not be forced on them."

From the April, 1967, report of the Georgia Council on Human Relations comes the following information: "Last month, members of the Houston County Chapter of the Council, SCLC, and NAACP investigated the school system. A casual walk through the elementary schools showed the differences. In the white elementary schools, new TV sets are mounted at the front of each room, while in the Negro schools, some TV sets are said to be available in the storage room. The few seen in classrooms looked much older than the ones in the white schools. One of the white high schools had lockers in the halls for books and clothes lockers in the gymnasium, while the Negro high school had no lockers. A white high school had five science laboratory rooms while the Negro school had only one. The white school had four rooms full of typewriters while the Negro had only one. The white high school library was much larger than the library in the Negro school that the library in a Negro school that covered 12 grades. An even greater shock was that twenty-two courses are taught at the white high school that are not taught at the Negro school!"

UD005 177

CONTENTS

August-September, 1967

3 — CHRONICLE OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION
The Editor

17 — TWO SUPERINTENDENTS DISCUSS INTEGRATION: INTERVIEW
Studs Terkel

30 — THE ROLE OF A SCHOOL SYSTEM IN A CHANGING SOCIETY
Bernard E. Donovan

35 — NEGRO TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE
Document

38 — INNER CITY PARENTS' PROGRAM FOR DETROIT INNER CITY SCHOOL
Albert B. Cleage, Jr.

46 — THE WASHINGTON, D.C. SCHOOL CASE
Document

53 — CATHOLIC SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN WASHINGTON, D.C.
Jane L. Berdes

57 — NEGRO BOYCOTTS OF JIM CROW SCHOOLS IN THE NORTH 1897-1925
August Meier and Elliot Rudwick

70 — SCHOOL INTEGRATION AND RELATED TOPICS
Bibliography

[SEE BACK COVER FOR ANNOUNCEMENT]

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